

Message Text

PAGE 01 TEL AV 05384 01 OF 02 221545Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----019489 221553Z /42
O 221500Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2754
AMEMBASSY CAIRO NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 5384

EXDIS DIST AS NODIS

DEPT PASS TO THE SECRETARY; CAIRO FOR AMBS ATHERTON AND EILTS

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR PBOR IS EG US XF OVIP (DAYAN, MOSHE)
SUBJ: DAYAN'S FORTHCOMING MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY

REF.: TEL AVIV 5300

1. IN OUR APRIL 20 MEETING I DESCRIBED FOR DAYAN OUR THINKING ABOUT THE AGENDA FOR HIS MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON APRIL 26-27. I SUGGESTED HE PICK UP WHERE HE LEFT OFF ON THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, AND NOTED THAT ROY ATHERTON WILL BY THEN HAVE PROVIDED THE SECRETARY WITH THE LATEST EGYPTIAN VIEWS. IN ADDITION, I PROPOSED THAT HE GET AS DEEPLY INTO THE WEST BANK ISSUE AS POSSIBLE, CONCENTRATING ON THE PERIOD AFTER THE FIVE-YEAR INTERIM REGIME.

2. DAYAN AGREED WITH THIS GENERAL APPROACH. HE SAID HE WAS READY TO DISCUSS THE DECLARATION AND FELT THAT THE REMAINING GAP WAS NOT VERY WIDE. HE NOTED THAT UNLESS THE EGYPTIANS CHANGED THEIR MINDS, AGREEMENT WAS WITHIN REACH WITH A LITTLE GIVE AND TAKE ON BOTH SIDES. DAYAN ALSO WANTED TO DISCUSS NOT ONLY WHAT

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PAGE 02 TEL AV 05384 01 OF 02 221545Z

HAPPENS AFTER THE FIVE-YEAR INTERIM REGIME ON THE WEST BANK, BUT ALSO THE PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS ON STATUS OF THE WEST BANK DURING THIS PERIOD. HE IS ALSO ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN EXPLORING THE NEXT PROCEDURAL STEPS IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AFTER AGREEMENT ON THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. WOULD THE EGYPTIANS AGREE TO RESUME BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS, OR WOULD THEY REQUIRE THAT A WEST BANK AGREEMENT BE PUT INTO PRACTICE FIRST? THERE WAS ALSO THE QUESTION OF WHAT HAPPENS IF HUSSEIN AND

THE PALESTINIANS REFUSE TO JOIN IN THE NEGOTIATING
PROCESS. IF THIS TURNED OUT TO BE THE CASE, WOULD
SADAT THEN GO HIS OWN WAY?

3. DAYAN NOTED THAT DURING THE FIRST DAY OF WEIZMAN'S
LAST VISIT TO CAIRO, SADAT HAD EXPRESSED SOME UNEXPECTED
BUT VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND INTERESTING IDEAS ON HANDLING
THE WEST BANK ISSUE. SADAT HAD DEALT NOT ONLY WITH
THE PERIOD AFTER FIVE YEARS BUT ALSO HOW TO GET THINGS
MOVING NOW EVEN IF HUSSEIN AND THE PALESTINIANS OPT NOT
TO JOIN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. DAYAN TERMED THESE
SADAT IDEAS AS VERY PRACTICAL AND JOKINGLY SAID THEY
WERE ALMOST AS GOOD AS HIS OWN. ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT
SURE HOW BEGIN WOULD FEEL ABOUT THESE IDEAS, THEY WERE
VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND CLOSE TO HIS. (HE ADMITTED
SMILINGLY THAT WEIZMAN HAD NOT TOLD ME ALL OF THEM.)
HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT SADAT HAD BACKTRACKED ON THESE
THOUGHTS AFTER THE FIRST DAY OF DISCUSSIONS WITH
WEIZMAN. DAYAN STRESSED THAT SADAT WOULD HAVE TO RETURN
TO THEM. I SUGGESTED THAT HE TALK THEM OVER WITH THE
SECRETARY AND WE MIGHT BE ABLE THEN TO DISCUSS THIS
WITH SADAT. (SHOULD NOTE HERE THAT ISRAELIS ALL REMAIN
BAFFLED BY SADAT'S SEEMING REVERSAL OF FIELD OVERNIGHT
ON MARCH 30, BETWEEN HIS MEETINGS WITH WEIZMAN. THEY

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SECRET

PAGE 03 TEL AV 05384 01 OF 02 221545Z

DO NOT BELIEVE STORY OF HIS MEETING WITH A "GROUP OF
GAZANS." TODAY, HOWEVER, I HEARD FROM A VERY RELIABLE
SOURCE THAT WE ARE BEING GIVEN THE "CREDIT" FOR THIS
SWITCH. APPARENTLY IN A RECENT GOI CABINET MEETING
SOMEONE REPORTED THAT AMBASSADOR EILTS HAD SEEN SADAT
THAT EVENING AND HAD PERSUADED HIM TO BACKTRACK. WOULD
BE VERY HELPFUL TO HAVE AMMUNITION TO SPIKE THIS STORY.
PRESUME IT COULD REFLECT WEIZMAN'S ERRONEOUS ASSUMPTION
THAT EILTS WAS BRIEFED BY MUBARAK ON MARCH 30, RATHER
THAN APRIL 1 (SEE CAIRO'S 9802, PARA ONE).

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 05384 02 OF 02 221545Z

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2755

AMEMBASSY CAIRO NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 5384

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4. I ALSO BROUGHT UP DAYAN'S AND CABINET'S LATEST STATEMENTS ON RESOLUTION 242, NOTED THAT I THOUGHT THEY WERE MILDLY CONSTRUCTIVE, BUT ASKED WHETHER HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT THERE WERE ANY FURTHER POSSIBILITY OF MOVEMENT. DAYAN REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT SEE THIS AS NECESSARY. EVEN IF HE WERE TO BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL TO MAKE FURTHER CHANGES, THE QUESTION OF THE MEANING OF 242 SHOULD COME TO A TEST ON A PRACTICAL RATHER THAN A SEMANTIC PLANE. AS AN EXAMPLE, HE SUPPOSED THAT WE CAME TO AN AGREEMENT ON THE ALLON PLAN WHICH INCLUDES TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE. IN THIS CASE THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES COULD BE INTERPRETED IN A CERTAIN WAY. HOWEVER, IF AN AGREEMENT WERE REACHED IN WHICH ISRAELI FORCES WOULD REMAIN IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IN A NEW DEPLOYMENT, THE MEANING OF WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES SHOULD NOT BE PRESSED SO MUCH. IN ANY CASE, AN ACADEMIC INTERPRETATION OF 242 IS NOT THAT IMPORTANT. WE MUST REACH AGREEMENT ON ITS PRACTICAL MEANING AND WORK BACKWARDS THEN TO SEE IF WE STILL HAVE PROBLEMS WITH THE LANGUAGE IN THE DECLARATION OF O PRINCIPLES. 242 SHOULD BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT. IT IS BETTER TO LEAVE THINGS AS THEY ARE NOW AND FOCUS ON THE PRACTICAL SITUATION IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

6. I THEN SUGGESTED THAT IF DAYAN DID NOT LIKE OUR

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SECRET

PAGE 02 TEL AV 05384 02 OF 02 221545Z

PLEBISCITE IDEA, HE SHOULD TRY TO BE THINKING OF OTHER POSSIBLE WAYS TO PERMIT THE WILL OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA TO BE EXPRESSED AT THE END OF A TRANSITION PERIOD. DAYAN LISTENED BUT DID NOT RESPOND.

7. I ALSO NOTED THAT THE SUBJECT OF SETTLEMENTS MIGHT COME UP IN WASHINGTON AND ASKED IF THERE WAY ANYTHING NEW ON THIS SUBJECT. DAYAN CLEARLY DID NOT WANT TO TALK ABOUT SETTLEMENTS AND SIMPLY SAID HE DID NOT INVOLVE HIMSELF IN THE BUSINESS OF OTHER MINISTERS. HE ADDED THAT IF THE US WANTED TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE IT WOULD BE THE PERFECT REASON TO INVITE THE PM TO THE WHITE HOUSE(*).

8. COMMENT: DAYAN WAS IN AN UNUSUALLY RELAXED AND POSITIVE-FRAME OF MIND DURING THIS DISCUSSION, WHICH TOOK PLACE AT HIS HOME IN ZAHALA. HE BELIEVES THE TIME IS NOW RIPE TO GET DOWN TO CASES WITH US ON THE WEST BANK, AND TO TRY TO WRAP UP THE DECLARATION. HE IS APPROACHING THE MEETINGS AS A SERIOUS NEGOTIATION, PERHAPS A DECISIVE ONE, AND NOT JUST ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE ENDLESS "NEGOTIATING PROCESS." HE CLEARLY SENSES

THE ISRAELI ROOM FOR MANEUVER IS SHRINKING FAST AND THAT
AN AMERICAN PEACE PLAN LOOMS JUST AROUND THE CORNER.
WITH THE WEIZMAN CHANNEL TEMPORARILY BLOCKED, DAYAN
AGAIN HAS THE BALL--AND HE WANTS VERY MUCH TO CARRY IT
INTO THE END ZONE NEXT WEEK IF THERE IS A WAY TO DO SO.
HIS BASIC PROBLEM IS, I FEAR, THAT HIS COACH'S
PLAYBOOK IS WOEFULLY BEREFT OF OPTION PLAYS. LEWIS

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